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TAGS: IS, PEPR, IZ
SUBJECT: MFA BRIEFING PAPER ON ISRAELI RAID ON
- IRAQI NUCLEAR REACTOR

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR
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FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF BRIEFING PAPER ON
ISRAELI RAID ON IRAQI NUCLEAR REACTOR ISSUED BY MFA
ON JUNE 9.
BEGIN TEXT: IRAQ'S ACTIVITIES TOWARDS ACQUIRING MILITARY
NUCLEAR ACTIVITY.
-- 1) MOTIVES
- IRAQ ASPIRES TO BE THE LEADER OF THE PERSIAN GULF,
THE ARAB COUNTRIES AND THE THIRD WORLD. IT PURSUES
AN EXTREMIST POLICY AGAINST ISRAEL, REJECTS ITS
EXISTENCE, OPPOSING THE PEACE PROCESS AND ADVOCATING
POLITICAL AND ARMED STRUGGLE.
- TO MAKE THIS POLICY OPERATIVE, IRAQ HAS BEEN
AUGMENTING ITS MILITARY POWFR AT AN UNPRECEDENTED RATE,

UTILIZING ITS PETRODOLLARS INCOME, AND SEEKING TO DEVELOP A TECHNOLOGICAL-MILITARY INFRASTRUCTURE.
-- AMONG THE VARIOUS ACTIVITIES IRAQ HAS ENGAGED IN TO STRENGTHEN ITS POWER, ONE IS OUTSTANDING: ITS NUCLEAR ACTIVITY.
-- 2) STATEMENTS CONCERNING THE NEED TO ACQUIRE NUCLEAR WEAPONS.
- FOLLOWING IS A SELECTION OF IRAQI STATEMENTS WHICH EXPRESS THAT COUNTRY'S DESIRE TO ACQUIRE NUCLEAR ARMS:
- AL-USBU AL-ARABI, LEBANON, 8 SEPTEMBER 1975:
- SADAAM HUSSEIN WAS REPORTED TO HAVE DECLARED THAT THE

ACQUISITION OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY WAS "THE FIRST ARAB ATTEMPT TOWARDS NUCLEAR ARMING, ALTHOUGH THE OFFICIALLY DECLARED PURPOSE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF A REACTOR WAS NOT NUCLEAR WEAPONS".
- AL-QABAS, KUWAIT, 30 NOVEMBER 1976:
- IRAQI OIL MINISTER, TAYEH ABD AL-KARIM, IN A SPEECH TO THE DAPEC MINISTERS' COUNCIL ON 23 NOVEMBER 1976, REFUSED TO COMMENT ON REPORTS THAT "IRAQ WILL BE THE FIRST ARAB COUNTRY TO HAVE THE ATOMIC BOMB. HOWEVER, HE SAID, IRAQ INTENDS TO USE NUCLEAR ENERGY ... FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. THE PRODUCTION OF THE ATOMIC BOMB SHOULD BE A PROJECT IN WHICH ALL ARAB STATES SHOULD PARTICIPATE."
- INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, PARIS, 27 JUNE 1980:
- NA'IM HADDAD, A SENIOR MEMBER OF IRAQ'S RULING REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL STATED AT A MEETING OF THE ARAB LEAGUE IN 1977:
- "THE ARABS MUST GET AN ATOM BOMB."
- MR. HAIDAR, IRAQI AMBASSADOR TO BRAZIL, ON THE OCCASION OF THE SIGNING OF A NUCLEAR COOPERATION AGREEMENT, BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES, ON 29 SEPTEMBER 1979:
- IF OUR ENEMY, ISRAEL, IS CLOSE TO BUILDING AN ATOMIC BOMB, OR ALREADY HAS ONE, WHAT PREVENTS US FROM DEVELOPING THE SAME CAPACITY?"
- AL-WATAN AL-ARABI, PARIS, 31 JANUARY 1980:
- SADAAM HUSSEIN, IN AN INTERVIEW WITH THE NEWSPAPER,

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STATED:
- "ANY STATE WHICH WANTS TO USE THE ATOM FOR MILITARY PURPOSES SHOULD REACH A SPECIAL SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL LEVEL IN ALL FIELDS, NOT ONLY IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD."
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- THE TIMES, LONDON, ON 22 JULY 1980, IN A REPORT ON SADAAM HUSSEIN'S MEETING WITH JOURNALISTS THE PREVIOUS DAY:
- "PRESIDENT HUSSEIN IMPLIED SEVERAL TIMES THAT ARAB NATIONS WOULD BE ABLE TO USE ATOMIC WEAPONS, ADDING -- AFTER HIS DENIAL OF ANY INTENTION TO MAKE A BOMB -- THAT THE ENEMY WILL BE TOTALLY DIFFERENT IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE."
- AL-THAWRA, BAGHDAD, 4 OCTOBER 1980:
- "THE IRANIAN PEOPLE SHOULD NOT FEAR THE IRAQI NUCLEAR REACTOR WHICH IS NOT INTENDED TO BE USED AGAINST IRAN, BUT AGAINST THE ZIONIST ENEMY."
-- 3) IRAQI ACTIVITY TOWARDS ACQUIRING NUCLEAR ARMAMENT.
- A) IRAQ HAS BEEN THE MOST ACTIVE ARAB STATE IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD IN RECENT YEARS. A CLOSE ANALYSIS OF ITS

ACTIVITIES SINCE 1974 LEADS TO THE CLEAR CONCLUSION THAT IT HAS BEEN WORKING DILIGENTLY TO ESTABLISH AN IN-DEPENDENT NUCLEAR INFRASTRUCTURE WHICH CAN SERVE MILITARY PURPOSES.
- THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IRAQI NUCLEAR ACTIVITY INDICATE ITS ULTIMATE GOAL, NAMELY THE ACQUISITION OF A MILITARY-NUCLEAR OPTION.
- B) THE IRAQI ATOMIC PROGRAMME
- (1) AS FAR BACK AS THE FIRST CONTACTS WITH FRANCE FOR AN AGREEMENT ON NUCLEAR COOPERATION, IN 1974, THE IRAQIS ATTEMPTED TO ACQUIRE A 500 MEG. NUCLEAR POWER REACTOR OF THE GRAPHITE-GAS TYPE, WHICH WAS DEVELOPED

IN FRANCE IN THE 1950'S PRIMARILY FOR THE PRODUCTION OF HUNDREDS OF KILOGRAMS OF PLUTONIUM FOR MILITARY USE. THIS REQUEST WAS TURNED DOWN BY FRANCE ON THE GROUNDS THAT PRODUCTION OF THIS TYPE OF REACTOR HAD BEEN DISCONTINUED MANY YEARS EARLIER.
- (2) IRAQ HAS PURCHASED FROM FRANCE A 70 MEGAWATT NUCLEAR REACTOR OF THE OSIRIS TYPE (NAMED BY THE IRAQIS OSIRAK), WHICH IS CONSIDERED ONE OF THE MOST ADVANCED EXPERIMENTAL REACTORS IN THE WORLD. IT ALSO PURCHASED A SMALLER, ONE-MEGAWATT REACTOR OF THE "ISIS" TYPE, USED PRIMARILY FOR TRAINING.
- THESE TWO REACTORS WERE IN THE FINAL STAGES OF COMPLETION AT THE TUWEITA NUCLEAR RESEARCH CENTRE NEAR BAGHDAD.
- (3) IRAQ INSISTED THAT FRANCE SHOULD SUPPLY IT WITH NUCLEAR FUEL ENRICHED TO THE LEVEL OF 93. THIS FUEL IS KNOWN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AS 'PROLIFERANT' MATERIAL, CONTRIBUTING TO THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WHILE THIS FUEL IS USED IN RESEARCH REACTORS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, THESE REACTORS HAVE AN EXTREMELY LOW CAPACITY (5 TO 10 MEGAWATTS ONLY); REACTORS OF THE 'OSIRIS' TYPE EXIST ONLY IN SUCH DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AS THE U.S., FRANCE AND GERMANY.
- (4) FRANCE HAS UNDERTAKEN TO PROVIDE IRAQ WITH ABOUT 80 KGS. OF WEAPON-GRADE 93 ENRICHED URANIUM FOR THE OPERATION OF THE REACTORS. IT SHOULD BE POINTED OUT THAT THE NUCLEAR FUEL WHICH FRANCE BEGAN TO SUPPLY TO IRAQ IS TAKEN FROM FRANCE'S MILITARY ARSENAL (THE FORCE-DE-FRAPPE) AT A TIME WHEN FRANCE ITSELF IS OPERATING REACTORS WITH

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ENRICHED FUEL OF AMERICAN ORIGIN.
- (5) DURING 1980, FRANCE SUPPLIED IRAQ WITH THE FIRST TWO SHIPMENTS OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED TYPE OF NUCLEAR FUEL, WEIGHING 12 KGS. EACH. THIS ENABLED THE IRAQIS TO PUT INTO OPERATION THE SMALLER OF ITS TWO NUCLEAR REACTORS, WHILE THE LARGER OSIRAK WAS TO
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BECOME OPERATIONAL IN JULY OR SEPTEMBER 1981.
- FRANCE UNDERTOOK TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY TRAINING OF 600 IRAQI TECHNICIANS, AS PART OF A BILATERAL AGREEMENT.
- (6) PLUTONIUM-PRODUCING POWER REACTORS.
- IRAQ IS INQUIRING IN OTHER COUNTRIES ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY TO PURCHASE POWER REACTORS OPERATED ON NATURAL URANIUM AND HEAVY WATER. SUCH REACTORS PRODUCE LARGE QUANTITIES OF PLUTONIUM, A MATERIAL SUITED TO THE PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.
- (7) ACQUISITION OF NUCLEAR MATERIALS.
- IRAQ IS OPERATING IN FOUR PARALLEL DIRECTIONS IN ORDER TO STOCK-PILE THE URANIUM NECESSARY TO GIVE HER

SELF-SUFFICIENCY.
- (A) THE ACQUISITION, ON THE BLACK MARKET, OF WEAPONS-GRADE ENRICHED URANIUM - WITH THE HELP OF INTERNATIONAL ARMS DEALERS;
- (B) AN INTENSIVE SEARCH ON THE INTERNATIONAL MARKET TO ACQUIRE URANIUM, PRIMARILY FROM BRAZIL, PORTUGAL AND NIGER;
- (C) THE ACQUISITION OF ENRICHMENT SERVICES FROM BRAZIL;
- (D) A SEARCH FOR URANIUM ON ITS OWN TERRITORY.

- (8) FUEL-CYCLE TECHNOLOGY.
- IRAQ PURCHASED IN ITALY COMPLEMENTARY TECHNOLOGY: FOUR RESEARCH LABORATORIES FOR THE STUDY OF THE CHEMICAL PROCESSES OF RECYCLING FUEL, THE PREPARATION OF FUEL AND THE REPROCESSING OF IRRADIATED FUEL. THE PROJECT IS SCHEDULED FOR COMPLETION IN 1981.
- THE MOST SIGNIFICANT LABORATORY FROM THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROLIFERATION POINT OF VIEW IS THE RADIO-CHEMISTRY LABORATORY FOR THE SEPARATION OF IRRADIATED FUEL AND THE EXTRACTION OF PLUTONIUM.
- (9) DELIVERY SYSTEMS.
- IRAQ PLANS THE FINANCING OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW BALLISTIC SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILE WITH AN EFFECTIVE RANGE OF UP TO 3,000 KM. AND CAPABLE OF DELIVERING A NUCLEAR WARHEAD - IN addition TO THE AIRCRAFT ALREADY IN ITS POSSESSION, WHICH ARE CAPABLE OF CARRYING NUCLEAR WEAPONS.
-- 4) THE ISRAELI POSITION.
- OVER THE YEARS, ISRAEL HAS FOLLOWED THE IRAQI NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT CAREFULLY AND HAS EXPRESSED ITS DEMAND - BOTH PUBLICLY AND THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS - THAT NUCLEAR ASSISTANCE TO IRAQ BE TERMINATED, BUT TO NO AVAIL. IN ADDITION, ISRAEL HAS ALWAYS SUPPORTED THE PRINCIPLE OF NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION.
- ISRAEL BELIEVES THAT THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO THE MIDDLE EAST WOULD BE THE DECLARATION OF THIS REGION AS A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE,

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MODELLED ON THE TLATELALCO AGREEMENT, WHICH IS BASED ON
THE INITIATIVE OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION THEMSELVES
AND DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THEM.
- SOME COUNTRIES ARE NOT PARTY TO THE NPT, BUT PAR-
TICIPATED IN THE TLATELALCO NEGOTIATIONS AND ADHERE TO
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THE AGREEMENT. IN ISRAEL'S ESTIMATION, THESE PRINCIPLES
ARE LIKELY TO CONTRIBUTE SUBSTANTIALLY TO THE CONCLUSION
OF A TREATY WHICH WILL BE BINDING ON ALL THE COUNTRIES
OF THE REGION.
- ISRAEL HAS ALSO GIVEN PRACTICAL EXPRESSION TO THIS
CONCEPT. SINCE 1974, ISRAEL HAS PROPOSED IT ANNUALLY AT
THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND IN OTHER
INTERNATIONAL FORA. AT THE 1980 ASSEMBLY, ISRAEL WENT
SO FAR AS TO SUBMIT A DRAFT PROPOSAL ON THIS SUBJECT, AND
JOINED THE CONSENSUS WHICH LED TO THE ADOPTION OF THE
EGYPTIAN PROPOSAL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NUCLEAR-FREE
ZONE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.
- HOWEVER,THE ARAB STATES HAVE CATEGORICALLY

REJECTED ISRAEL'S INITIATIVES BECAUSE OF THEIR REFUSAL TO RECOGNIZE THIS COUNTRY AND TO CONDUCT DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH IT. NONETHELESS, ISRAEL REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE CONCEPT OUTLINED ABOVE AND TO ITS REPEATED STATEMENTS THAT IT WOULD NOT BE THE FIRST COUNTRY TO INTRODUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS INTO THE REGION.

- 5) THE TIMING OF ISRAEL'S ACTION.

- THE TIMING OF THE ISRAELI BOMBING OF THE IRAQI OSIRAK NUCLEAR REACTOR WAS DICTATED BY THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS:

- (1) RELIABLE INFORMATION ABOUT IRAQ'S PROGRESS IN REALIZING ITS NUCLEAR THREAT AGAINST ISRAEL.

- (2) THE FACT THAT THE REACTOR WOULD HAVE BECOME OPERATIONAL AND RADIOACTIVE BETWEEN JULY AND SEPTEMBER OF THIS YEAR.

- (3) THE DESIRE TO AVOID RADIOACTIVE POLLUTION WHICH WOULD HARM INNOCENT CIVILIANS IN THE BAGHDAD AREA.

- (4) THE NEED TO MINIMIZE CASUALTIES ON THE SITE.

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